

they concluded that instead of 10 million people coming into the country illegally as they project under current law, 8.7 million people would be entering our country illegally.

What kind of legislation is this? We have been promised it is going to stop illegality and it only reduces illegality by 13 percent, a fundamental failure, a fundamental misrepresentation to the American people about what this bill will do. It is shocking.

This chart shows that situation. The blue, according to the CBO score over 20 years, the blue shows that 10 million people would be coming into our country at the current rate over the next 20 years. If we pass the bill, the red will occur, 8.7 million people.

Every Senator ought to know what our own Congressional Budget Office has reported. Every Senator who is aware of that cannot go home to their constituents and say: I voted for comprehensive immigration reform to make sure we create a legal system in the future. How can you do that? This can't be done. It is an important issue.

The legislation would double legal immigration. I don't think that is what the American people want or expect. The blue represents current law. The red represents the new bill—and it could be more—and the number of legal permanent resident statuses, the green cards, will double in the next 20 years under this legislation.

I think most people thought we were going to do something to get control of immigration and reduce illegality and reevaluate the numbers who come. Certainly, they don't think we are doubling legal immigration. We also know there are high costs involved. According to the Congressional Budget Office, our study we got back a couple weeks ago, in 10 years this legislation will cost the taxpayers of America in welfare and social benefits \$30 billion—this is their number; I didn't make this up—\$30 billion. They have been saying this is going to bring in more tax revenue, we are going to legalize people, and they are going to pay taxes. Wrong. It is not going to happen. It is not so. I wish it were so. I wish I could tell my colleagues that the numbers show when this amnesty occurs, everybody is going to pay a lot of taxes and it will help balance our budget. Wrong. It is not going to happen that way. It will cost \$30 billion in the first 10 years, and our own Congressional Budget Office says it will be dramatically greater in the next 10 years and increase as the years go by.

It is going to increase the cost to the Treasury and, in fact, let me share with you what the highly regarded Heritage Foundation study found. Robert Rector, a senior fellow at the Heritage Foundation, the architect of welfare reform for our country, has been alarmed at the cost of this bill. I am not talking about the cost of Border Patrol agents and barriers and those kinds of items. I am talking about the cost of providing all the social benefits

we give to American citizens, to people who came into our country illegally, what it will cost in terms of tax credits, Medicaid, welfare, food stamps and the like. If they are all made legal permanent residents, Z card holders, even the temporary visas, they will be entitled to virtually all of these programs.

According to Mr. Rector, over the lifetime retirement years of the 12 million who would be given amnesty under this provision, it will cost the taxpayers of America—hold your hat—\$2.6 trillion; over \$2 trillion. It is a stunning figure. It is a figure so large that we almost can't comprehend it or think about it. But anybody who tells you that somehow legalizing the people who are here illegally and providing them with every benefit we provide to American citizens is somehow going to add revenue to our Treasury cannot be correct. CBO says no. They say it will be even worse in the outyears. And the Heritage Foundation has calculated the outyears to be over \$2 trillion. This is a stunning figure.

I submit that by passing this law, we will provide a path to citizenship for people, for even those people who broke into our country last December 31, running past the National Guard the President called out. If you could get past the National Guard last December, you will be given amnesty under this bill and be placed on a full path to all these benefits and citizenship.

They have been saying we have to help people who have been here for years and have children and deep roots. I am willing to discuss that situation. I don't believe we can ask everybody to leave this country who came here years ago, who have children and roots and are dug in. I am not prepared to ask them to leave—I really am not—and I have said that publicly for some time. But Senator WEBB just had an amendment that said if you came here in the last 4 years after we had been talking about this issue, after we have called out the National Guard and made clear we want to do something about it, you don't get on this path, you haven't been here long enough to entitle you to be given amnesty. It was voted down by a substantial vote a few moments ago. His amendment was tabled. It is no longer on the agenda. It will not become law. The current law, what is in the bill, provides amnesty to people who came in last December.

I have talked about, and we have had hearings that I think demonstrate with absolute clarity, this incredibly large flow of immigration into America today is, in fact, depressing wages of American workers. Oh, yesterday, we had this great union debate that we are going to eliminate the secret ballot so people will be forced into unions. My Democratic colleagues had charts showing wages haven't gone up in the last few years. And I am inclined to agree because that is what the experts told us on the immigration question. They told us that wages have not gone up—not because of some oppressive

businessperson but because we have allowed millions of people to come into our country to take jobs at lower wages that Americans ought to be paid to do. Those are just the facts.

Professor Borjas of Harvard, himself a Cuban immigrant, at the Kennedy School—and I suggested Senator KENNEDY perhaps should walk over there to Harvard from his Boston home and talk to Professor Borjas. Professor Borjas concludes that for people in this country without certain education levels, their wages from 1980 to 2000 have been depressed 8.2 percent.

Anecdotally, I would just note that when I left the Chamber here last Friday, there was a gentleman out here on the street—had gray hair and a gray beard, with a little sign about jobs—and I talked to him. He said he was a master carpenter in Florida and he used to make as much as \$75,000 a year—which is not too much money for a master carpenter, in my opinion—but he can hardly make a living today because of an incredible influx of cheap labor that has pulled down the value of his labor.

When I raised this with Senator KENNEDY last year in our debate, he said: Well, we are going to raise the minimum wage. Well, how much are we going to raise it? We are going to raise it to \$7 an hour. That is not good enough. We want people to make \$15 an hour, \$20 an hour.

If you want to know why wages haven't gone up for working Americans, ask Professor Borjas at Harvard; Professor Chiswick at the University of Chicago; Alan Tonelson, an expert; and one of the other professors we had actually—I think he was with the Chamber of Commerce group, and he admitted it. The Secretary of Treasury just recently admitted he was concerned about the fact that wage earners were not keeping up with the growth in the economy. That is my opinion. If somebody wants to dispute it, so be it.

I don't think this legislation in any way provides for assimilation to the degree we would like to see it in accordance with our great American heritage of assimilation.

So I think the fundamental issue in this entire debate, the issue that goes to the heart of the question, is whether this Congress and this President really intend to keep the promises they are making. Isn't that the real question? Because in 1986, they spun a beautiful song: one-time amnesty, and we will have law enforcement next.

I ask: Does this bill do what the supporters claim it will? Fundamentally, will it work? Will it secure the border? Senator REID, just a few moments ago, said what the American people want—they want our borders secure. Well, will it do that? Will it enable us to enforce the law in an effective, diligent, and consistent way that breeds respect for law? Will it clearly reward right behavior and firmly penalize bad behavior? Will it encourage immigration by lawful means, a means that serves our